

Central Intelligence Agency



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Professor Arnold Horelick
RAND Corporation
1700 Main Street
Santa Monica, California 90406

Dear Arnold:

The Bialer/Lapidus and Pipes "Perspectives on the Soviet Union" seminars offer interesting contrasts in approaches to how to understand the Soviet system.

Bialer focused primarily on internal political, economic and social issues in the two and a half days he shared with Gail Lapidus. He briefly discussed Gorbachev's foreign and security policies, and anticipated your participation in commenting, "I'll not say very much about security policy because Arnold Horelick will do it ten times better. I would underwrite anything he says."

Students had read his recent article in Foreign Affairs, "The Genesis of Gorbachev's World." In the initial session he developed the themes of this article in providing a general overview of Gorbachev's program. He was able to amplify with observations from a February trip to Moscow and the Congress proceedings, as the latter was in session during the seminar. In the afternoon, Bialer offered a primer on the organization and functioning of the CPSU at the local, republic and national levels.

The second day was opened by Gail Lapidus, who discussed the stability of Soviet society. Bialer followed with additional comments on sources of stability. Gail opened the afternoon session with a discussion of Soviet nationalities, offering a basic outline of the nationality situation before suggesting the key issues confronting the leadership. Bialer had some further comments, and closed with a consideration of civil-military relations. They solicited from the class topics to address during the final morning, and the list is instructive on the range of concerns:

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- ° Soviet-East European relations and stability in Eastern Europe (Bialer had commented earlier that we have devoted too little attention to the study of this region.)

- ° Soviet policies and objectives in the Third World.

- ° Soviet concerns with the Strategic Defense Initiative.

- ° Soviet efforts to control consumer expectations and Western influences, particularly among Soviet youth.

All were addressed the following day, the conclusion to what the students assessed as a highly successful program. Both Seweryn and Gail structured their sessions to consist of about 45 minutes to an hour of formal remarks, followed by open discussion. This seemed to work very well with a class that consisted of 24 officers from three directorates (DO, DI and DS&T), all with major responsibilities for the Soviet Union but most with little or no formal background in Soviet studies. The majority were experienced officers, as the average grade of GS-13 would indicate. We have purposely assigned quotas to the directorates to ensure that we have a broad mix of backgrounds and responsibilities.

As we discussed in Santa Monica, Pipes proposes to design a week around the organization of his book, SURVIVAL IS NOT ENOUGH. Each of the book's five chapters would constitute the basis for a daily seminar, with students reading the book beforehand and assigned readings for each session. Pipes anticipates that the students would only convene for about two hours each day, with the remaining time for reading and study. He intends to give an examination at the seminar's conclusion.

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Clearly, anything goes! The main objective is to give these folks a broad framework in which to think about the Soviet Union. Hope to put you on the calendar.

Sincerely,



Director
of
Training and Education

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